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PITTSBURGH, PA.

Asks: "Where Does the Workingman Come In?"

A Municipal Declaration of Principles and Platform that Opens the Municipal Fight With Red-Hot Shot and Sound Language—No Compromise! No Reform! The Total Overthrow of Capitalism!

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 18.—The Socialist Labor party decided to enter city politics and last night a convention was held in the headquarters of the Pittsburgh Branch of the party, at 420 Grant street. To a man who did not know what was going on the assembly looked very little like a political gathering, and indeed was not conducted like a gathering of either of the old parties. No wire-pulling or any of the other distinguishing marks by which capitalist political conventions are generally distinguishable was to be seen and the delegates were apparently out to enjoy life as they saw best, while deeply in earnest in the matter which brought them together.

Comrade John R. Root was chosen chairman of the convention, and F. E. Blumck secretary. As a Credentials Committee Charles Rupp, William Eberle, Leon Gross, William Hunt and Otto Mahner were appointed. They made a report that 41 delegates were present and these were seated.

William Eberle, H. A. Goff and J. S. Bergman were appointed on the Resolution Committee and presented the following:

Section Pittsburgh, of the Socialist Labor party, in convention assembled on this day, December 17, 1898, resolves as follows:

1. We denounce the nominating conventions of the two old capitalist parties as purely farcical; merely an automatic confirmation of the status quo, previously prepared by the "Bosses," whose methods and practices are utterly repugnant to the genius of popular government, and are in fact the very essence of treason.

2. We denounce the system of so-called "Voluntary Contributions" for campaign purposes, as a system of blackmail upon the city employees and an intolerable outrage; the pretext that the loss of an election means the loss of their positions will not hold good, because there must always be city employees. The Socialist Labor party believes in ability and merit as the principles upon which men ought to be employed in public service.

3. No city employee should be required to remain on duty more than eight hours for one day's service, and yet we recognize the fact that in the modern processes of production the hours of labor should be still further decreased.

4. We denounce the wholesale granting of enormously valuable public franchises to traction and other companies through servile acquiescence of the City Councils as an open theft of the people's property. These franchises should never have been granted at all, yet had they been disposed of at fair prices and under proper conditions, the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny would to-day be free of debt; we also denounce the murderous practice of running open summer cars almost to the middle of winter, as such a practice must inevitably result in sickness and deaths and is inexcusable criminality, practised mainly upon lines directly under the control of "Boss" Magee. These facts, coupled with the facts that there are some hundreds of suits pending against these companies for maiming and killing men, women and children by the reckless and brutal manner of operating the roads, fully justify the demand of the Socialist Labor party that these charters, black with corruption, shall be repealed, the plants and rolling stock confiscated by the people and the roads controlled and operated by the municipality.

5. We demand to know by what right the Philadelphia Gas Co. was allowed to lay mains upon the Smithfield St. Bridge, said bridge being at the time the public property of the city of Pittsburgh.

6. We denounce the purchase of the worthless Tenth St. Bridge as a conspiracy by the city officers to rob the people. A bridge that no private firm would purchase at \$25,000, yet it was unloaded upon the city for \$285,000; and that too in spite of the fact that the U. S. Government had condemned the bridge and had formally notified the city of Pittsburgh that it would have to be rebuilt.

7. We denounce the practice in Pittsburgh of building boulevards in those sections of the city inhabited by capitalist sharks and corrupt city "Bosses," while the working people's districts are invariably poorly paved, or not paved at all, and are frequently left unclean and in an unsanitary condition. These boulevards and some other expensive ornaments have been the main causes for almost doubling the fixed expenses of Pittsburgh since the year 1890.

8. We denounce the system of tax robbery known as the "Rural Tax" as an outrageous piece of special class legislation. The "Rural Tax" permits the capitalist class to own immense private parks upon which they pay but a nominal tax. "Boss Flinn's" information to the Labor League of West-Pennsylvania was that this was the class that deserved to be encouraged. Meanwhile the workman, who is trying to own a 25 x 100 ft. lot

LOS ANGELES A-FIRE.

Comrade Harriman Completely Overwhelms a Capitalist Judge.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Dec. 7.—The close of the municipal campaign in Los Angeles was marked by one of the most successful and in many respects one of the most remarkable meetings ever held in that city. The Section engaged the Music Hall for Sunday afternoon, Dec. 4, and invited the well known corporation lawyer, Judge R. H. F. Variel, to debate the New Charter with Comrade Harriman. Much to the general surprise and in evidence of how former prejudices are rapidly dying out, Judge Variel accepted the invitation and a large audience made up of every class in the community gathered together to hear the two champions both able representatives of the opposing interests in the "class struggle."

To show how Socialism has grown in Los Angeles in the last two years it might be well to compare the meetings held during the past three months with those held during the campaign of 1896. Then a small hall holding perhaps 70 or 80 persons was all the Section could afford, the only advertising to be depended upon being the work of enthusiastic comrades in passing on notice of meetings to their friends and acquaintances by word of mouth. How different it all is now. Since September 1 three large meetings have been held in one of the largest halls in this city, a meeting has taken place in a hall in nearly every Ward besides. The regular Sunday evening meetings never attended by less than 300 persons. As to advertising take for instance the meeting of Dec. 4. In the first place, the announcement of that meeting appeared on each of the 20,000 circulars containing the municipal platform that were distributed throughout Los Angeles. Then, thanks to the kindly assistance of Mr. H. G. Wilshire, posters appeared on his bill-boards in every part of the city, and lastly, the Seventh Regiment Band paraded the business portion for two hours prior to the meeting. One need hardly be surprised then that the S. L. P. vote has increased several hundred per cent. and that the comrades are hopeful of immense increase in 1900.

To return to the debate, Judge Variel is a man well versed in the law and accustomed to the lengthy arguments and dry methods of his profession, but he is entirely ignorant of all economic questions that do not directly bear on the interests of the class he represents. As some one in the audience remarked: "The Judge is behind the times," and said another: "Yes, and the 'Times' is behind him," and it was amusing to note how little he seemed aware that a large proportion—probably four-fifths—of the electorate of Los Angeles favor the municipal ownership of public utilities. His main contention was that while the new charter was by no means perfect, still taken as a whole, it was a great improvement on the old. He threshed all over again the well worn defence of the necessity of increasing the powers of the Mayor, carefully refraining from any mention as to how completely this policy had failed in New York. He also defended the provision taking the power of appointment in certain cases from the people and placing it in the hands of the Mayor. Taken as a whole, his arguments were of the weakest nature and only served to show the foolishness of permitting a lot of fogies to draw up a charter that ought to be abreast of the times. In fact only two points of any real interest to the people were brought out in a somewhat tedious exposition of a dry subject. The first was that under the new charter provision would be made for A. L. L. the people to enjoy the privileges of four-inch water mains and (2) that its framers had honestly attempted to find some means of putting a stop to the blackmailing and seducing of school teachers by a corrupt and dishonest School Board.

The effect of Comrade Harriman's appearance before the audience was similar to that experienced by the sight of the hills covered with green after the long and dry California summer. His splendid reception must have amply repaid him for the many sacrifices and the hard labors of the past six months. Hardly had he begun before the audience was completely captivated and this despite the fact that fully one-half was there to hear Judge Variel. As the Los Angeles "Times" truthfully says, his points "were cheered to the echo." He argued that to increase the powers of the Mayor simply meant to increase the power of corruption. Here Judge Variel, unfortunately, interrupted by stating that the Mayor or his appointees failing to do their duty could be impeached. To which came the reply: "Yes, and they tried to impeach Webb, that rascally School director, who debauched teachers, and though no one for a moment doubted his guilt, they completely failed." To which rally, coming home as it did to every man and woman in the audience there was quite 30 seconds of applause. From this point on the entire audience saw that Judge Variel was overwhelmed and applause and counter applause and applause again marked the arguments of our distinguished comrade. In fact, when the Judge rose to reply in rebuttal the audience received him with applause almost out of sympathy.

As was anticipated by its promoters, no meeting held by the party has done more good than this one and Comrade Harriman's success has given him a prominence which nothing can shake. In fact, Harriman's brilliant rallies and caustic replies have created considerable talk and amusement among

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THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

The Development of Man From Barbarism to Civilization.

A Washington, D. C., correspondent asks several questions suggested to him by the following passages which he quotes from one of our pamphlets, "The Co-operative Commonwealth": "The productive forces that have developed in the lap of capitalist society have become irreconcilable with the very system of property upon which it is based."

"The endeavor to uphold this system of property is tantamount to rendering impossible all further social development; to condemn society to a standstill and to stagnation—a stagnation, however, that is accompanied with the most painful convulsions."

"Every further perfection of production increases the contradiction that exists between these and the present system of property."

These are the questions:

1. What is meant by "civilization"?

2. What is meant by "social development"?

3. Why is the endeavor to uphold the capitalist system of property tantamount to rendering impossible all further development, etc.?

4. In what way have the productive forces become irreconcilable with the capitalist system of property; what is the contradiction that exists between the two; and how is the contradiction increased?

5. What is meant by "painful convulsions"?

No. 1. WHAT IS CIVILIZATION?

Civilization is the reverse of barbarism. Man develops from barbarism. The knowledge of what barbarism means aids in understanding what is meant by Civilization. The leading feature of barbarism is that, at that social stage, man resembles the brute in an important particular: the brute, with few exceptions, lives "from hand to mouth"; its whole existence is limited to the supply of its necessities of life; so with the barbarian. The physical wants of man are the groundwork of his existence; these must be first attended to; if attended to, life is preserved and the intellect may develop; if unattended to, life is extinguished and intellectual development has no chance. With the barbarian, the acquisition of the things necessary to satisfy man's physical wants, i. e., to maintain life, bespeaks the whole time of the human being. He is unable to produce even as much as he needs; he is, consequently, in perpetual want and the apprehension of want. As a result of this "industrial condition" of things, the barbarian has all the brutal and savage instincts of the beasts of the forests. His intellectual powers have no opportunity to develop.

Civilization is that social stage, or that industrial condition, where the physical wants of man can be supplied so easily and abundantly that the burden of toil for existence merely, together with the fear of want, is lifted from his shoulders and his mind; where, as a result thereof, the brutal and savage instincts of the beast drop off; and where the intellectual forces, absorbed and stunted under barbarism, in the necessary effort to sustain life, are free to grapple with more elevated subjects, and develop in the peaceful pursuits of ethics, the arts, and the sciences.

No. 2. WHAT IS SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT?

Social development is the march of mankind, society, from the stage of barbarism to that of Civilization. The more abundant the things needed to maintain life, the greater also is the distance between the race and barbarism, the nearer it is to Civilization, the more the material necessities of man depends upon the tool of production. Without any tool whatever, the race is at the lowest depths of barbarism. The tool adds inches to man over nature. The moment he attacks Nature armed with the tool, he steps above the plane of the brute. Nature yields more abundant stores of the wherewithals of existence, the struggle for life becomes less arduous, the fear of want less oppressive. The more powerful the tool, the larger are the fruits of man's labor. The appearance of that tool or machinery of production, whose perfection would enable man to wring from Nature such ample stores of the material things to support life that arduous toil would be unnecessary and the spectre of want would need no longer dog his heels, is the necessary foundation and the condition precedent for Civilization. The landmarks of social development are the tools of production.

The term "civilized nation" is frequently applied to modern nations. It is an inaccurate use of the word "civilized." A civilized man is he in whom the brute instincts of the beast of prey, the instincts of preying upon others for a living, have been wiped out by the ease with which he can obtain an abundance of the necessities of life. A civilized nation must be a nation made up of such men. No such nation exists to-day, or has ever been recorded in history. The nations termed "civilized" are, more accurately speaking, semi-civilized; they are on the high road to civilization, but have not yet reached that goal.

The power of the tool to conjure forth wealth from Nature depends upon whether or not it promotes co-operative labor. Let the tool be ever so artfully contrived, if the individual alone can operate it, its productive powers will be limited; they will never reach the

point required by Civilization. Co-operative effort, on the other hand, multiplies infinitely the fruits of the labor of the individual; achievements otherwise impracticable become facts, and the abundance that is otherwise impossible is easily attained. Co-operation frees man from the trammels of his individuality and develops the capabilities of his species. "Long was the lane that the race travelled with tools, which, though becoming ever more perfect, yet retained that simplicity that enabled the individual alone to operate them. So long as that epoch lasted, the individual worker was divorced from all others, and individual production continued with all its shortcomings."

When our country became free it was at this, the individual stage of industry. Barely was the century turned, however, when the machine that began to appear in the field of production began to bear the features that led toward co-operative labor; this feature developed rapidly; to-day, the machinery of production not only compels co-operative labor, but renders all efforts at individual production more and more abortive. Not only has the tool grown to such gigantic mechanisms that the co-operation of large numbers of workers is requisite to operate it, but it has furthermore led to such a division and subdivision of labor as has infinitely prompted co-operation, and thereby has immensely stimulated the fruitfulness of labor. The United States, to-day, stands fully within the co-operative stage of industry or social development. To-day the capabilities of the tool of production are such that abundance is possible beyond the dreams of dreamers of the past, and with that is possible that popular well being that could free man from arduous toil for existence, that could disengage his mind from the carking care of the fear of want, and that, emancipating him wholly from the instincts of the beast, could afford him ample leisure and means to give full reins to his intellectual and moral development. In short, to-day Civilization is possible. But is it a fact? No.

No. 3. WHY IS THE ENDEAVOR TO UPHOLD THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF PROPERTY TANTAMOUNT TO RENDERING IMPOSSIBLE ALL FURTHER DEVELOPMENT, ETC.?

The capitalist system of property is the individual system of property in the tools of production. This system of property makes its first appearance in the days of individual production, and is the foundation of society throughout that period. Already then there lies in the system the economic laws that disable it from ever effecting Civilization. When, however, the system is carried onward into our own days of co-operative labor, and vests in private or individual hands the property in the gigantic tools now requisite for production, then these economic laws break forth into full bloom and assert themselves relentlessly, for evil.

The ownership of the tool is the sole guarantee to the worker of his ownership of the fruits of his labor. He who owns the tools without which he cannot work is master of what he produces. He who does not is inevitably dependent upon him who does hold the tool, and from this dependence is born the inability to keep and enjoy the fruits of his labor; he will sacrifice a part, almost the whole, if need be, in consideration of being allowed access to the needed tools, so as to be enabled to keep body and soul together.

So long as the tool was so slight that it could be produced with comparatively little labor, this economic law could not become palpable; the ownership of the tool of production could not yet confer masterhood over the toolless man; he could readily equip himself with that needed weapon of life and freedom by producing it himself. As the tool developed, its acquisition became more difficult. Finally the day, our present generation, dawned when the tool has grown into such proportions that its production by the individual is out of all question.

Gov.-elect Pingree of Michigan, pointed to a deeper truth than he knew when he said that thirty years ago, when he knew hardly anything of the shoe trade, he had \$400, that he then joined another with \$1,000, and that he started a shoe factory with that amount; and then he went on to remark: "I now have thirty years' experience, and yet what could I do to-day with that \$1,400? Nothing. It needs to-day to start a shoe factory many thousands times that amount."

When the development of the machinery of production has reached this stage, then the continuance of the capitalist system of property blocks the way to Civilization. The capitalist class, the small class that owns the tool now needed for production, can render competition impossible to those who own only weaker tools; these are swept off the industrial field, and are thrown headlong into the class of the proletariat. If those with some capital (the privately owned tool of modern production) were unequal to the fray, those with none whatever, the proletariat or working class, are still more hopelessly lost. As none but the capitalist class then owns the needed tools, all others are deprived of the opportunity to work and earn a living without they are allowed access to the tools that are not theirs, and hence they inevitably lose

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SAN ANTONIO AT IT.

Follows Up the State Election With a Municipal Fight.

SAN ANTONIO, Tex., Dec. 13.—Section San Antonio, Socialist Labor party, held its city convention in its hall, 114 Losoya street, on December 4, 1898, with Comrade E. T. Ayer in the chair and Comrade B. T. Harris secretary. The convention decided to have but one candidate in the field, that of Alderman at Large; and Comrade Frank Lelner was unanimously nominated his candidate.

The convention then proceeded to formulate and adopt the following municipal platform:

We affirm the principles declared in our State and National platforms, and assert our determination to achieve by political and constitutional means the abolition of the present system of wage-slavery and of private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and to substitute therefor the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The welfare and prosperity of a city depends upon the steady employment of its citizens, in the various fields of production at remunerative returns. Realizing that only by carrying out our radical programme, can labor be permanently benefited, yet for temporary relief we hereby pledge our nominee, if elected, to use his best efforts to enforce the following demands:

1. Eight hours shall be the maximum day's labor, and two dollars the minimum day's pay for city employees.

2. Increase of the compensation of subordinate employees and reduction of the present exorbitant salaries of the higher city officials, and the abolition of all fees and perquisites, including the Mayor's Contingent Fund.

3. No new franchise or extension of existing franchise to be granted, and revocation of all franchises the conditions of which have not been complied with.

4. Municipal ownership of lighting plants, water works and car lines, the same to be operated, not for profit, to reduce the taxes of the property owners, but for the benefit of all citizens. The employees to manage the same co-operatively under the control of the city administration, and to elect their own superior officers. No employee shall be discharged for political reasons. Surplus revenue over the cost of operating public utilities to be used to increase wages of employees and establishment of a sick and disabled benefit fund, for employees and other citizens.

5. An immediate change in the management of the city hospital, to a more humane and modern system.

6. Abolition of the contract system on public works; direct employment of labor by the city.

7. Free employment bureau.

8. The illiteracy and ignorance prevalent among the voters of this city, owing to the inadequate educational facilities, is one of the causes of political corruption. We therefore demand immediate increase of school facilities so as to accommodate all children of school age. Free school books for all, and free noon day meals, and free clothing upon application for all school children unable to buy some.

9. Well regulated system of food and dairy inspection, prevention of the manufacture and sale of adulterated or poisoned food commodities.

10. Abolition of occupation tax in every industry, business, and occupation.

11. Immediate organization of a permanent and scientific system of street improvement.

12. Necessary funds for these purposes to be raised, first by the savings realized by the curtailment of administration expenses; second, by direct taxation and a rigid enforcement by the assessor of the present laws requiring all property to be assessed at its full value.

13. All railroad companies shall be required to erect, maintain, and operate gates, at their expense, both day and night at every place their road crosses a street, within the two mile limit, short spur tracks and street railroads not included.

The press has been teeming with accounts of the peace jubilee in Atlanta, Ga., giving details that are more or less flat. One incident, however, of the occasion, and that certainly a significant one it has remained perfectly silent upon.

The peace jubilee parade was forming when about 300 labor union men, who had been invited to participate, appeared on the street with the banner of the Central Labor Union. In the labor element were a number of negroes, who are members of the Quarrymen's Union. The committee of capitalists, who was managing the parade, declined to allow the negroes to march with the whites. Thereupon all the labor union men immediately withdrew. They returned to their hall and from there issued a resolution to all organized labor denouncing the conduct of the capitalist whites.

Thus, while "Major" McKinley of the North and Confederate Brigadiers of the South—capitalists both—are celebrating a peace that negro and white labor won, and are seeking to divide the ranks of the workers on the color line, the workingmen of Atlanta rose to the height of the occasion and stood together.

Let them repeat the noble scene at the ballot box.

THE VOTE.

Magnificent Figures from the State of California.

Additional Returns from the Municipal Contests in Massachusetts—Increases in Springfield, Fitchburg and Boston in Particular—Comments of a Capitalist Paper—The S. L. P. has Come to Stay.

Rhode Island Official Returns.

The vote in Rhode Island was for Congress only. The two candidates for the two Congress Districts in the State polled in the aggregate 2,570 votes. At the previous election, 1896, Matchett polled 538 votes. At the spring election, this year, Reid, for Governor, polled 2,877. The vote by counties is:

Bristol	38	Providence	2,262
Cent	107	Washington	50
Newport	22	Totals	2,570

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 14.—The State vote is as follows:

Harriman, Governor	5,143
Andrew, Lieutenant-Governor	8,784
Leess, Secretary of State	8,386
Robertson, Controller	7,585
Lewis, Treasurer	9,856
Hamilton, Attorney-General	7,144
Smith, Surveyor-General	8,753
Biddle, Clerk Supreme Court	9,357
Rouletten, Supt. of Pub. Inst.	6,653

CONGRESSMEN.

Burns, 3rd District	1,306
Martin, 4th District	1,006
Kingsley, 5th District	1,632
Van Rensselaer, 6th District	1,132

We have, judging from the official reports, gained the requisite 3 per cent. to be recognized as a political party with a possible exception of one Congressional District. In California the status of a party is determined by the average of the poll. Thus, as a party in the State, the S. L. P. is credited with 7,780 votes as its average.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Corrected Returns.—Whitehead, S. L. P., for Governor, 407 votes with 30 towns and 7 Wards to hear from. This is more than previously reported.

MUNICIPAL ELECTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Dec. 9.—At our municipal elections, just held, we have trebled our strength. Comrade Mieliez, for Mayor, received 418 votes.

FITCHBURG, Mass., Dec. 12.—It is with pleasure I report our success in our municipal campaign here. We have made a gain of fully 32 per cent. Andrew Davidson, the party's candidate for Mayor, received 433 votes.

The vote for Aldermen is a better test of the real strength of our party in the city. Last year, Herman Kaiser, of Ward 2, the only Aldermanic candidate nominated by us, received 288 votes. As Kaiser was an employee of one of the cotton mills, had never appeared before the public in business life and was not very well known, while the vote he received was well divided through all the Wards of the city, it is a reasonable inference that the vote he received was given substantially to the principles of the party, rather than on personal or complimentary grounds.

This year candidates for Aldermen were presented for three Wards, and they received votes as follows: Ward 2, Gustave H. Wuth, 346; Ward 4, John Russell, 317; Ward 5, Hubert C. Bartlett, 470. The average vote for these three candidates is 380—a gain of 32 per cent. over the vote for Kaiser last year.

This year for the first time our party put up a candidate for the Common Council, Robert F. Wilson, in Ward 2, who received 217 votes; also one for School Committee, Edson S. Demmon, in Ward 5, who received 63 votes.

Commenting upon these results a local paper says:

"The steadily increasing vote given to the candidates of the Socialist Labor party, in city, State and nation, indicate that the party has come to stay, and that it is a factor which must be taken into account in political reckonings hereafter. It is believed that the plan on which the party is organized and managed will keep it free from entangling alliances, which preclude immediate temporary success, but which are pretty sure to lead to ultimate defeat."

BOSTON, Dec. 17.—For School Committee: Martha Moore Avery, 8,836; last year the comrade received 6,680 votes.

For Street Commissioner: Stephen Shaughnessy, 2,500; last year 1,500. Aldermanic vote not yet announced.

There is harmony in the Republican camp. The "gentlemen" and the "machine" have fraternized. No longer do we hear charges by the former on the unspeakableness of the latter; or charges by the latter on the visionariness of the former. How did Platt do it? By simply giving to one of the "gentlemen" the embassy to England! Within a capitalist party lines, there is no disagreement that can not be composed with a sop.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.

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THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1892 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1896 (Presidential).....	12,531
In 1897 (Presidential).....	31,157
In 1898 (Presidential).....	33,123
In 1899 (Presidential).....	35,664
In 1897.....	55,673

Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rush onward rapidly from success to success, their stage effects outbid one another, men and things seem to be set in flaming brilliancy, ecstasy is the prevailing spirit; but they are short-lived, they reach their climax speedily, then society relaxes into a long fit of nervous reaction before it learns how to appropriate the fruits of its period of feverish excitement.

MARX.

Comrade William Watkins, of Dayton, O., passed away on the morning of the 19th instant.

Comrade Watkins' demise is a severe loss to the party, not in his own State only, where his high character and great attainments added dignity to the Socialist movement, but throughout the country where he was known, respected and loved through his writings.

Not his estimable and extensive family only, but all his comrades in arms mourn their loss.

EPOCH-MARKING.

There is a certain news item that started somewhere in the neighborhood of the Rockies, and then, moving eastward over Cincinnati, finally reached New York; and has been latterly ladled out as "news" by our "newspapers." The item is of more than passing interest, in truth it marks an epoch. It purports to be a plan to bring about with certainty certain labor demands; the plan proposes a conference of representative men of several organizations in the land—the Socialist Labor party among them.

It has for years been the contention of the S. L. P. that it can not be ranked among political parties strictly; that it is, by the very law of its existence and of the circumstances that gave it birth, essentially a Labor Organization; consequently, that it is entitled to a seat in the Councils of Labor. This contention has been opposed. The false light in which people have become accustomed to look upon political parties, prevented them from appreciating it, and, thus, many people honestly have resisted the idea of having the S. L. P. recognized as a sister body in the Parliaments of Labor; the dishonest, of course, profiting by the popular error, joined the outcry; it became almost a maxim at one time: "If the S. L. P., why not admit any other party?"

The plan that proceeds from the Rockies is a straw that indicates that the superstition is, at least, wearing out. Notwithstanding the plan is hair-brained in that it imagines help can come forthwith, as if by magic, from above; from "leaders" and not from education in the rank and file; notwithstanding it is otherwise as full of holes as a sieve, yet the mere fact of its placing the S. L. P. on the list of the conferees raises it to a significance that can not escape the attentive observer of events and that marks an epoch in the intellectual development of the understanding of the Social Question.

The S. L. P. is a Labor Organization typifying the very head and front of the Labor Movement; the Council Table of Labor is incomplete and is unripe where the S. L. P. is not present, and in the presiding chair.

NOT A CLASS GOVERNMENT?

Congress has met. Whose Congress? The Congress of the American people, we imagine to hear the answer. Socialism maintains that there is no such thing as "the Congress of the American people," unless by "the American people" is meant, not what the term means in common parlance, but something special, to wit, "the ruling portion of the American people," and that only would go to prove the point.

The time for theorizing on this subject is gone by. A man, ignorant of farming, may take a bramble-bush for an apple tree; he may even contemptuously look upon him who would warn him of his error; but, unless he be an idiot, his error can not survive one summer and autumn. When the bramble-bush, instead of producing the expected apple, produces only the dry berry and thorn of the bramble-bush, then theory is at an end. So it must be with the bramble-bush of our Government.

The governmental tree that is the whole people's must produce fruit for the whole people. Has Congress done

that? Its latest performance answers the question.

No sooner had it convened, when, despite the widespread want of the people, its first thought was given to an anti-scalper's bill. In other words, to a bill exclusively in the interest of the large Railroad Corporations whose business was interfered with by the scalpers. These, acting as brokers for the smaller railroad concerns, injured the interests of the large concerns; and these interests were to be safeguarded!

Laws that are to relieve the working class of the heavy burden resting on its shoulders; laws to safeguard its children and wives; laws to protect them against capitalist-inflicted diseases and premature death—these and all such bespeak the attention of Congress no more than the condition of Zulul in Africa.

The Government is a social organism indispensable to the working class; unless it is class-consciously owned by the proletariat, it is a bramble-bush that sets out only prickles to them and flowers and blossoms for their oppressors.

SNUBBED IN THE HOUSE OF ITS FRIENDS.

Socialists are not of those who allow themselves to be stuffed with noise. As such, we consider the recent gathering in Kansas City, Mo., of "delegates to the A. F. of L. convention" to deserve but little notice. The "convention," indeed, would like to be taken seriously and made much of; that is in line with its purposes, to wit, to advertise its shining lights to the capitalist politicians as "leaders of labor," and get jobs in consideration of their services. We know, however, that it is "waning moonshine"; once, indeed, did the workers of America look to it with respect and hope, and felt to be a part of it; that, thanks to the class-conscious education and hammer blows that the Socialist Labor party and its sister the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance have been spreading and dealing right and left, is no longer the case; how far the masses have been taken from those fakirs is well proven by their recent experiences at holding public meetings in Kansas City; while, within the "convention," fakirism ruled the roost, and thus seemed to represent the majority of the workers, outside of the "convention," the truth that they represent nothing was made clear: the "majority" of the "convention" could only get meetings of 28 or 30 people on the outside, while the minority of the "convention," at the mass meeting it held under auspices of the Socialist Labor party, filled large halls to overflowing. Similar, only increasingly so, has been the experience of late years, proving beyond cavil that the fakirs are representing a steadily waning constituency, and their pure and simple is indeed a poor, old stranded wreck, while the masses are turning to us. Nevertheless, there is one thing that happened at this blessed "convention" that is worthy of note: the way that bogus Socialist party variously called Social Democracy and Democratic Socialist was treated.

At the "convention," there were several delegates of that bogus party: economically and politically they are of the flesh and bone of the other fakirs. These "Socialist" delegates had but one object—scuttle the S. L. P.; Amen, was the feeling that thrilled through their fakir compeers. In order to do that, the former introduced a resolution that called for "united political action on the part of the workers upon class lines," and they made it quite clear that it was introduced not in the interest of the S. L. P., but in the interest of the bogus, armories-to-capitalist-voting "Socialist" concern. One would imagine that such a resolution, presented under such auspices, would be jumped at by the other fakirs. Well, they did not; on the contrary, they jumped on it with both feet. The language and tenor of the resolution, being pirated from the S. L. P., was soundly Socialist; the animal instinct of the assembled fakirs told them that it could not be supported without being an endorsement of the S. L. P.; and that would be to cut the market for jobs from under their own feet. Accordingly, not only was the resolution rejected, but it was rejected upon a series of speeches that snubbed by wholly ignoring the bogus party of Tobin, the proposer thereof, and limited itself to bestowing its compliments upon the S. L. P. and the S. L. P. alone.

Indeed, the United States, broad though its area be, is too narrow a confine to contain more than one bona fide Socialist party. That party is the S. L. P., it has earned its place as such, is known to be such, and no other party, to whatever extent it may pirate our name or platform, will ever be looked upon as anything but humbug.

The instinct of the assembled fakirs in Kansas City was unerring, so unerring that, notwithstanding their full sympathy with the real objects of the Tobin-Carey party, they, its friends, snubbed it roundly.

BOSTON, MASS.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following places:
Geo. G. Leavitt, 158 Harrison Avenue.
John Braithwaite, 84 West Canton Street.
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POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Holyoke local politicians seem to be worrying a great deal about what the new Socialist Labor party Alderman will do and not do, and, consequently, a great deal of nonsense is being written and talked on the subject.

The following clipping from the leading paper of Holyoke, the "Transcript," is a fair sample:

IF MR. RUTHER DON'T VOTE

Will be all kinds of Trouble.

Aldermen will be at Loggerheads all the Year—Democratic, for the Promotion for German-City Physician Fight.

It is given out that M. Ruther, having been seen by various candidates for office who desired the Socialist's vote in the Board of Aldermen, has made the statement that it was contrary to the rules of his party to vote upon certain questions and that he would take no part in the naming of certain officials. It is hard to believe that Mr. Ruther maintains any such position, however. He may have refused to make any promise, as all Aldermen should, but the chances are that when the matter comes to a vote Mr. Ruther will be heard from.

His silence would mean no end of trouble for the incoming city government. It would keep the members at loggerheads all the year. Each party having ten representatives it would be a case of a tie vote on most every question of importance unless Mr. Ruther came in as a happy medium.

It is understood that the Republicans will secure Mr. Ruther's support by offering him some sort of consideration for his stance. It is well known that there is not a stronger Socialist in Holyoke than Patrolman Geran. Perhaps if the administration gave Mr. Geran an office in the police department, he would be willing to help along the Republican cause. Mr. Geran is a good police officer, and his promotion would not be open to criticism.

To which Comrade Ruther replied as follows:

Editor "Transcript"—In reply to your speculative article in Saturday's issue on public questions coming before the new Board of Aldermen, of which I will be a member, permit me to say Socialists are not clams upon the half-shell, waiting for hungry stomachs. We know what we want and how we want it and are getting what we want.

In all my actions as an Alderman, I shall be guided by the principles laid down in the platform of the S. L. P. I was elected and which reads as follows:

"The Socialist Labor party of Holyoke, conforming to the demands of the national organization and harmonizing with the movement of the world, whereby finally, through political and legal means the present state of planless production, industrial waste and social disorder to be set aside, and the Co-operative Commonwealth and all means of production and distribution shall be owned collectively and operated scientifically by the people."

Upon all other points I shall follow the simple rules of common sense with the view always in mind of benefiting the people whom I have the honor to represent. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, M. RUTHER.

It will also be interesting to record the following interview with Comrade Ruther that appeared in all the Holyoke papers the day after his election:

My election to the Board of Aldermen is not an accident in political life, it is the result of a long and logical course of intelligent forethought, coupled with energy inspired by moral conviction that is more far-reaching than can be correctly estimated at the present time. My election means a new era in the political life of Holyoke, not because I am a great statesman, or some reform freak, but because I represent a new revolution, the force that has been generated by the evolution of society since perfect machinery has become the great factor in the process of production and distribution of the things that are necessary to sustain life and to make it successful.

I am washed into the City Hall, as it were, by the advancing tidal wave of the social revolution, destined to lead to the overthrow of the capitalist system of exploitation in the grave of history and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

More Socialist representatives will follow me and we have the power to crystallize into laws the new era of humanity, when the last and worst form of slavery will be wiped out, and man will at last stand face to face with his brother, the worker, in the full glory of economic as well as political freedom and say: "MAN, THOU ART MY BROTHER!"

The "New Yorker Volkszeitung" of the 14th instant, commenting upon the honest and the dishonest elements at the so-called convention of the so-called American Federation of Labor, proceeds to say:

The comfort of these two elements was formerly quite so well provided for at the time when there were more Socialists at that point; at the time, namely, when a part of these had not yet chosen to lead, outside of Europe, and had not a separate existence of doubtful success, instead of, as formerly, tirelessly, unflinching, step by step, boring their way forward from within over the heads of the corrupt and the Labor Movement always felt quite uncomfortable at the opening of every annual convention, because they were in the dark as to the strength in which the Socialists might turn up, as to the weapon of attack these might be equipped with, and as to how far these would succeed in making breaches in the ranks of the shakies. This sense of uneasiness is now wholly vanished.

The theory here advanced, together with the implied facts that are needed to support it, is a pure figment of the brain—the abortion of a convenient ignorance on the history of the Movement in America, coupled with that queer "tautfulness" that consists in flinging about phrase-clad pretenses to justify indolence. It is a surreptitious re-asserting of tactics that the party, in national convention assembled in '96, solemnly threw aside for ever as stupid and poltroonish.

The historic fact is just the reverse from that stated in the passage above quoted. Not only had the Socialists not been "step by step boring their way forward" in the A. F. of L., but the "boring" process had become a "boring backward" and had come to a dead stop when the Socialists, by founding the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, set up their "separate existence." The facts in the case, together with what they imply, are so instructive as to deserve rehearsal.

The high-water mark of Socialist "boring" forward in the A. F. of L. was reached at the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L. in 1890; from that year on, the "boring" was less and less, till it finally had ceased altogether in '95. It was less at the Birmingham convention, '91; it was still less at the Philadelphia convention in '92; it was but puny at the Chicago convention in '93; at the Denver convention in '94 it had sunk so low that the "Socialistic" so-called "plank 10," after having been carried by the rank and file, could be

coolly and without effort laid aside by the convention, one of the doers of the deed calmly declaring that "the rank and file did not know what it had voted for"; and finally, at the New York convention, '95, the "boring" had so completely disappeared that the convention openly adopted plans for fighting the Socialists everywhere. It was only then, end of December, 1895, to the orchestration of a challenge to war to the knife, desperately issued by the A. F. of L. convention in this very city, that the S. T. & L. A. was founded and the "separate existence" began. Thus much for that fiction of "tirelessly, step by step, boring our way forward from within" when the "separate existence" was begun.

But it is not only against facts that the passage in question sins; it sins also against an important principle that the philosophy of the Movement in English speaking countries has established, and that it is culpable neglect to overlook, let alone blur or suppress, to wit, that the evolution of the Labor-Fakir-run "pure and simple" Union is from conservatism to reaction, from reaction to corruption, and that the growth of the class-conscious Labor Vote hastens the development.

It was no accident that the turning point in the Socialist "boring forward" coincided with the year 1890, and that it had wholly vanished in 1895 at the New York convention. There is deep meaning in the fact. In 1890 for the first time the Socialist Labor party took the field in the State of New York under its own name and in a manner that denoted the closing of an old, the opening of a new era. The taking of the political field by the S. L. P. could not choose but throw the Labor Fakir on a new tack. Thitherto, in whispered and other notes, he had been assuring the Socialists of his devotion to Socialism—but; "but the rank and file are not yet ready," "leave us alone, and we will indoctrinate them," etc., etc. The S. L. P. of those olden days believed, kept quiet, and the Labor Fakir had a free field. With the uncompromising stepping on the political field of the State of New York by the S. L. P., this humbugging of old could not continue. The Labor Fakir had to show his hands; no longer would whispered protestations of sympathy do; acts alone could tell. The Labor Fakir brigade pulled itself together to protect its special "class interests"; first it threw out pretenses for opposing "S. L. P. Socialism," but presently by degrees it dropped the mask and boldly and baldly took the field against Socialism itself, embracing in its denunciations all the Socialist movements of Europe.

This process did not start in '90; as late as April, '91, Mr. Gompers, in a conversation with a comrade at the St. James Hotel in Minneapolis, expressed his belief that the party in New York would not that year follow up the campaign of '90. It was, he thought, only one of the many fitful attempts the party had made before; the "small vote," he referred contemptuously to the 13,700 votes of '90, "must surely discourage the party"; etc., etc. Fakirism watched; its expectations were disappointed. Not only did the party not give up, but it spread from State to State; in '91, when the Birmingham convention met, 3 States were in line; in '92 there were 6 in line; in '93 the total vote had risen to over 25,000; in '94 the "plague" had spread over 9 States; and, finally in '95 not only had the "plague" spread over 11 States, but, in the very city of New York, where the A. F. of L. convention of that year was held, the S. L. P. vote had more than doubled since '90, it rose to 10,933!

The rise of the party's vote is the barometer of the Labor Fakirs' opposition. He pulled himself together; his methods of corruption, backed by capitalist politicians, both in the A. F. of L. and the K. of L., gave him the advantage of numbers in his conventions. His safety demanded the strongest front against the "plague"; and corruption funds bound his class together in an impassable barrier. To imagine that any further "boring forward" was then any longer possible was silly, none but the chicken-livered could hold the view. As the political movement had clarified the situation, there was nothing left but the separate economic existence, started in '95, which, together with the political movement, has been leading the Labor Fakir the wildest dance he ever had. So far from his "uneasiness having now wholly vanished" he never was in hotter water. The best way the cattle thief knows to conceal stolen cattle is to mix it up with cattle that he owns. In the same manner the Labor Fakir delighted in mixing himself up among Socialists: So long as Socialists were conspicuous in the annual Fakirs' advertising medium, yelet the "Convention of the A. F. of L., the Labor Fakirs' treason to the Working Class could be veiled, and, under the veil, was carried on with a success that is impossible now. How gladly would not the Labor Fakir see the Socialists continuing to pursue the Will-o'-the-wisp of old by keeping "tactfully," right on, "boring their way forward from within!"

Passages, such as the one here submitted to the scalpel, can not find their way into the party's German organ, the "Vorwärts": It is in charge of too clear-headed and conscientious a man

for that. But the "Vorwärts" is read mainly outside of this city; and there, indeed, we find the German element moving with steady pace; in this city, however, the "Vorwärts" is little read: the "Volkszeitung" is considered its daily edition. In view of the appearance of such and similar wrong-headed and misleading articles in a German Socialist daily paper in this city, is it at all surprising that progress from the quarter of the German element is not here what it might be?

The Woonsocket R. L. "Evening Call" continues to voice the trepidation that has seized upon the class of its stockholders in sight of the S. L. P. vote and the effectiveness of S. L. P. propaganda. It says:

SOCIALISM IS HAVING A HEARING. The growth of Socialism in this section goes on. Woonsocket's Socialist vote has attracted attention within a year, and now our neighbor, North Smithfield, develops Socialistic mania. Tuesday, North Smithfield elected the new constitution and for candidates for Congress. The new constitution was opposed by Socialist orators throughout this State and to their campaign is due the selection of the proposed constitution, for they influenced many against it who are not Socialists. Well, North Smithfield voted to reject the constitution by a vote of 188 to 50. The vote in that town on Congressional candidates was: Republican 88, Democrat 90, Socialist 55. These facts, added to those that have gone before must make the older parties look to themselves.

Does this mean that Socialism must be prevented from having a hearing, and that the next thing on the tapis is a "legal" crusade against free speech? Out with it, stockholders of the "Evening Call."

"BOAR-ZHWA!"

The Pig that Talks like a Man.

(Written for THE PEOPLE by Stanislas Cullian, Spokane, Wash.)

Come gather in counsel ye Proletaires, we must plan for a hunt to-day: We must load our strong class-conscious gun—it is the only gun that will slay The beast that we stalk, for he is big and strong—yes, our game is the ruling class, The capitalist pig, the Pig, Boar-zhwa; the Pig that talks like a man.

The "Beast that walks like a man" up North may tear at the Lion's mane, the freak The two-beaked buzzard of the flock, the hawk But the spoils will go to the Boar we hunt; he'll take all the fruit, for he can. This capitalist pig, this Pig, Boar-zhwa; this Pig that talks like a man.

Our Uncle's Eagle may mix the mess, and make the menagerie quake: The Lion and he may partition the "Chink" and all "decaying" carcasses take. They but work for the Pig, he uses them all—Pope, President, Kaisers and Klan. The capitalist pig, the Pig, Boar-zhwa; the Pig that talks like a man.

And this is his story: Two hundred years ago he was a humble chont. That bowed and cringed when a noble passed, while his heart jumped into his throat. He has grown since then, now he rules the world, and he puts kings under the ban. This capitalist pig, this Pig, Boar-zhwa; this Pig that talks like a man.

In France he brought on the "Terror's" reign, and he shortened a king and a queen. He gave us the weapons to overthrow the system that stood between His class and the throne, and we did his work—not thinking OUB he'd tan. The capitalist pig, the Pig, Boar-zhwa; the Pig that talks like a man.

In England we humbled the lords for him; he warbled "refuge" so well. Then he worked our children and wives to death; he made England a factory hell. The "Freedom of Contract," "Laissez-faire," "Let the fittest survive" was the plan. Of the capitalist pig, the Pig, Boar-zhwa; the Pig that talks like a man.

In Yankee-land he didn't grow fast; in fact he behaved quite good. Until war broke out; then he jumped into power; he fattened on courage and blood. Now he rules OUR country from White House to out, and "Injunctions," "Lead Diet" is the plan. Of the capitalist pig, the Pig, Boar-zhwa; the Pig that talks like a man.

He sings while we cut our brother's throat: Oh, "La Patrie" in France; "Das Vaterland," "God save the Queen," and he laughs at the world's death dance. His God? he worships his stomach; his country means power for the clan. Of the capitalist pig, the Pig, Boar-zhwa; the Pig that talks like a man.

So we're hunting the Pig all over the world; he has made the wide world a sty. The Proletaire will be in at the death—we have sworn that the Pig must die. We will give him his choice—by ballot or lead—its death by whichever plan. For the capitalist pig, the Pig, Boar-zhwa; the Pig that talks like a man.

But we'll give him no choice in Yankee-land; we Yanks are a voting lot. We'll vote him to death through the S. L. P.; all in line, for the chase grows hot. Then Socialists lead the class-conscious gun; pass the word to the Proletaire clan. That we're camped on the trail of the Pig, Boar-zhwa, the Pig that talks like a man.

(L'envoy.)

So that the "Beast that walks like a man" may rest; the Lion may cease to roar: The two-beaked Buzzard may moult in peace and the Frog get a chance to snore. Our Eagle may fly o'er a happy land, come brothers, pull down the clan. Of the capitalist pig, the Pig, Boar-zhwa; the Pig that talks like a man.

*Poetic licence for "Bourgeois."

Labor Songs.

The attention of the readers of THE PEOPLE is called to the following labor songs:

- 1—"The Workmen's Marseilles," arranged by H. Mohr.
- 2—"Down with Slavery," words selected from Shelley; music by Platon Bronnoff.
- 3—"The Hand with the Hammer," by Peter E. Burrows; music by Platon Bronnoff.
- 4—"On the first of May," by Elizabeth Serber; music by Platon Bronnoff.

Price, 10 cents per copy. Send your orders to:
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th Street, New York City.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be so student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th Street, N. Y. City. Price 25 cents.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan.

Uncle Sam (much astonished)—What is that red button you got there? Is it the S. L. P. button? The last I heard of you, you were declaiming against the S. L. P., and trying to get "one thing at a time," that first thing being free beer through the Tammany Hall Van Wyck.

Brother Jonathan—So I was; and so I'm yet. This button is no S. L. P. button.

U. S.—Oh, I see now; it isn't.

B. J.—Indeed it isn't. You Socialists are not people to get along with. You are a lot of Popes, Bosses and Dictators. That's what you are.

U. S.—We are, are we? Let me see. We have an opinion; have you none?

B. J.—Course I have.

U. S.—We believe our opinion is right; do you think yours is wrong?

B. J.—Course I don't!

U. S.—We agitate for our opinion; don't you for yours?

B. J.—Course I do!

U. S.—We believe and say that all others are mistaken; do you claim others are right?

B. J.—Course I don't.

U. S.—We try to bring others to our way of thinking; do you try to keep them away from yours?

B. J.—Course I don't.

U. S.—To sum up. We do in all these things just what you do. If to do that is to be a "Pope," a "Boss," a "Dictator," then you must be all these things yourself, and as you say you are not, it follows that neither are we Socialists "Popes," "Bosses" or "Dictators." But you insist we are different—

B. J.—So I do.

U. S.—Then it must be that there are other things that we both do not do, eh?

B. J.—(with a where-is this-man-going-to-land-me look)—Yes—

U. S.—And so there are. Now let me tell you. The principal thing that we do not both do is say just what we mean. When we Socialists speak we DO say just what we mean; when you and "anti-Popes," "anti-Bosses," "anti-Dictators" like you speak, you DON'T say what you mean. We have nothing to hide because all that we are after we demand over and above board; you and such as you have everything to hide, because what you really are after you don't want others to know—

B. J.—What am I after?

U. S.—That "one thing at a time." When you people say that "labor must get one thing at a time" and you stand, as you did at the last election, on the Tammany platform and demand "free beer," you are not stupid enough to imagine that "free beer" is really a step. You say so; but what you really mean is that if the party you are supporting for wins then YOU will get something, to wit, a job.

B. J.—H—

U. S.—Don't get excited, that's all there is of it. You want a job as a "first thing," that is your "one thing at a time"; and so it is with all of you. We are not looking for jobs, and consequently, we openly attack the capitalist parties. This is the distinction between us two, and your whole cry of "Popes," "Bosses," "Dictators" means nothing else than that we see through you and know you people to be corrupt at heart. Your outcry against us is but a confession of your corruption; and your trying to give us names is but an additional evidence of your dishonesty.

When the New York Primary Bill was before the Legislature of this State, the Socialist Labor party, in protesting against it, pointed out, among its numerous defects, all of which worked wrong to the workingman voter, that the time for holding the enrollment was not "workingman hours" but "capitalist hours." It was shown that gentlemen of elegant leisure could without injury to themselves attend the enrollment, but that workingmen could not during working hours do the same. The bill passed; the Legislature thereby giving one more evidence of its being a conspiracy against the workers.

Now, however, the Primary law is to be amended at the request of the capitalists in whose interest it was enacted, and what is the complaint they now raise against it? What is the "improvement" they propose?

The complaint is that June, the month for enrollment, is not convenient because during that month "many of the best people" are absent from the city; the "improvement" is that the enrollment month be made earlier!

Workingmen, men who can not without loss of bread, attend enrollment during working hours, are not to be considered, they, presumably, are not of the "best people"; but idlers, who sponge an existence upon the workingmen and who, without danger to their bread, can easily enroll now, they are to be considered, and if their convenience, or their season for debauchery, requires it, the law is to be correspondingly altered.

How do you like it, workingmen?

FOR FUTURE REFERENCE.

Below are the letters from Comrade Martha Moore Avery to the Massachusetts State Central Committee, S. L. P., reporting her experience in Marlboro, whether she was recently deputed by the S. C. C. to address the shoemakers on strike:

Marlboro, Mass., Nov. 19, 1893.
To L. D. Usher, Secretary State Central Committee.

The best I could do last night with the Strike Committee was to gain their consent to place the request that I be invited to give a course of short lectures before the strikers.

I made it plain to them that we should enter the field here and in the event of refusal on their part to allow us to appear before their members that their action would put the responsibility upon them for the future conduct of the labor movement in Marlboro.

Burnes and Murray seem to take the lead on the Committee, one man whose name I do not know is very hostile and one other man I am assured we shall one day win. They openly say that they want us to keep our hands off. I assured them that this, as all other fields, is ours. All the conference was conducted in the most courteous manner. THE PEOPLE arrived to-day.

Fraternally,
MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

Marlboro, Mass., Nov. 21, 1893.
To the General Committee of the Striking Shoemakers of Marlboro.

Gentlemen:—The Socialist Labor party of this Commonwealth in the person of the undersigned prefers this request to your body, that you give one hour at your headquarters at any one during the day or evening to suit your convenience for the purpose of a course of lectures in Social Economics on the following subjects:

1. Three Stages in the Production of Wealth.
2. The Wage System.
3. Competition and Monopoly.
4. Trades Unions.
5. Woman's Relation to the Labor Movement.
6. The Revolution in Industry.

These lectures are, of course, to be of no expense to you.

Awaiting a reply on Thursday next, I am sincerely yours,

MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

571 Columbus Avenue, Boston.

Marlboro, Mass., Nov. 23, 1893.

The Committee were well organized against me. Had voted me ten minutes to the interview, but when I got inside they had not the courage to tell me the time limit, it came out later when Murray came in to help them out. They almost decided to let me go out and publish to the country that they would not let me speak before them, but thought of it and asked me to put it to the different trades in the craft. Thus you see I scored a victory which I regard better than their permission to speak, because it tells how very important they think the occasion to be. They tell me that each and every branch of the craft meets during the week.

I shall be obliged to go home on Friday to attend the Free Speech case so I may drag out but this talk that is going the round of the town will do as much good as my appearance before a union. I would that some of you could have been at the conference to see the power of the S. L. P.; it grips their lifeblood; there was but one man on the Committee who is not steeped in the unquenchable of manipulating the influence of the trade unions to his personal advantage.

The workmen nominated the Mayor and the Democrats endorsed him, and the Democrats nominated the Aldermen and the workmen endorsed them; you see the "mad dance of the merry devils goes on."

Oh! the leader thought to win me by telling me that he thought the new party ought to be tried this year. "That is your party," said he, "I voted for it." I think politics must have been in trades unions some time here.

Fraternally,
MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

Marlboro, Dec. 6, 1893.

10:30 P. M.

I arrived in town to-night with the purpose to attend the delegate meeting of the 10 organizations which compose the shoe craft in this city.

I proceeded to their headquarters, and although it was but 7:35, I found the meeting adjourned.

On my way there I noticed that the City Hall was lighted, and I inquired of a policeman what was to take place there. He replied: "There is to be a Democratic rally." I put two and two together and asked if the delegates had adjourned to attend the rally. I was answered in the affirmative. I turned back and went into the hall.

At 8 o'clock there were not less than 700 men present. I assume that you know of the "Citizens Workmen's" party here which endorsed the Democratic candidate for Mayor, and that the Democratic party endorsed the Workmen Aldermen. Trades Unions have plunged into capitalist politics.

Murray, the strikers' chief agent, was the chairman of the meeting. The candidate for Mayor was the first speaker. The word gentlemen was so often on his lips that it was evident to my mind that he had constantly to remind himself to flatter his audience. Then came the precious Harry Lloyd. He accounted for the many turnings of his political coat by saying: "I was never a Democrat save when the Democrats have a labor platform."—Harry, Harry, you know that the Democratic party never had a labor platform! He reminded the voters that they should have invited State Secretary Olin, having voted for him, and appealed as a friend of workmen that he should be better treated the next time. Next came the (to be seen to be known) Mayor of Lynn. A full mouthed tone PEOPLE-TWO

and a string of high sounding words in praise of himself was the sum of his discourse.

I felt the crime that was being perpetrated upon the unoffending strikers. I deliberated, shall I ask for the floor? I looked over the audience but could

see no one familiar face. Yes, this is the time to make a statement on class politics. Just as the Mayor took his seat I went forward. "Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman," I reiterated. Murray scented the situation and tried not to recognize me. He called for three cheers for the candidates which, perhaps, owing to the confusion he had created by not recognizing me, were meekly responded to.

I appealed to the audience, shall I have 15 minutes to address you. "Yes, yes, yes," came from all parts of the hall. As I went upon the stage away flew as by magic the men who had so lately been in happy possession of it—one man only came forward and removed the chair that I might pass to the front of the stage. I began:

"Fellow workmen! I come not as a Democrat, I come not as a Republican, I do come as a Socialist sent here by the State Central Committee of Massachusetts to address the striking shoemakers upon the laws that govern the labor movement. I appeared before your Strike Committee with no definite result. I then went before the Building Committee; they would have me return to the Strike Committee. No, I could be sent to still another Committee but not back to one I had come from." At this point Mr. Murray came upon the stage and up to me saying, "I want to make an announcement." I, of course, courteously ceased speaking.

He said: "This lady has been hanging around for a long time asking to be allowed to speak. The people she represents went into the New Bedford strike and created a disturbance there. I advise you not to listen to her and as there is a rally in another hall, I hope you will immediately leave the hall."

Instantly the audience arose to its feet, some hissing me and some crying to hear me—howling, whistling and shouting went on—I raised my voice above the din and had succeeded in gaining attention of two or three hundred men when the janitor appeared upon the scene and turned out the lights save one poor blaze at the stage entrance; he said to me: "You can leave by the stage entrance." I knew better than to leave the crowd, so stood on the floor and talked to the men about me until the last light was put out. We then filed down the aisle towards the lighted hallway, there again I made a halt, cries of "Put her out," hissing and other demonstrations of cowardice were rife. When they became less frequent I said: "I go at my option, not at your say so. Of course, it is my pleasure to go when the lights are out. Let me bid you good night and say to you that I shall come again some day, then you will send for me. I can assure you that you will go into labor politics, but it will be minus the fakir element which encumbers it now and it will be sharply divided from the capitalist parties, Democrat or Republican. You will then be a part of the genuine labor movement, I mean the Socialist Labor party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance."

While still on the stage, some men came forward, one of whom I knew as a Boston comrade. A body-guard seemed at one point necessary as I got one or two vicious kicks while in the hallway. We passed down out through a wondering and dazed crowd of men.

I shall send out the literature when time enough has elapsed to give the shoeworkers time to think. We must hold a public meeting.

Fraternally,
MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

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Echoes from Kansas.

TO THE PEOPLE.—As the election is passed and the results substantially known, we can turn once more to the work of building up.

It was supposed that confusion was killed in Kansas; but such is not the case. It is only becoming the more confused. The "Socialist Populists" are out now to "unite all the reform forces in one body," to wit, the "Social Democracy."

We can expect from now on to hear of all the fakir element being vigorously pushed in this State. They will die hard, but their doom is surely sealed.

Why was Leedy's administration turned down? Because they ignored every pledge that they made to the people. It makes no difference whether their issue was of a "Socialist" or "Populist" character. Broken promises caused them to be distrusted.

As Socialists we can reap a rich harvest. The stay-at-home vote was significant. The stay-at-home vote is the vote of the people.

A people that have survived all the plagues of the past and still survive is bound to be a mighty factor in the overthrow of that worst of all plagues—CAPITALISM—when plagues are no longer feared.

The Comrade's suggestion in the "Correspondence Column" about the S. L. P. BUTTON was a good one. We should all wear one; and also we should all be ready to distribute our literature. It speaks for itself. Then, too, we should at all times be ready to speak right out to our fellow workers. Our primary duty is to the people.

With our ever steady increase of new farm inventions, with the steady increase of the army of the unemployed our task ought to be easy.

The comrade of silence of the capitalist press will soon be broken. We may now look for all sorts of attacks, and that will make our work still easier. It may be time to consider the possibility of many individual members, but it will advance the movement. I will here make the prediction that the incoming Administration in Kansas will be one of the most honest ever known.

Gov. Stanley will be the last Republican Governor in Kansas. He said during the campaign: "I will go down among the people and find out what they want. How do I do it? All his goings and comings were among the 'eminently respectable'—lawyers, preachers, businessmen and stock farmers.

Can anyone give a single instance where he went to a single workman's house to discover the needs of the working class? Can any single utterance from him be cited where he intimates that he will stop the present robber system?

He is a lawyer, an "eminently respectable" Sunday School Superintendent, a "devout Christian," and as a robber system under which we live. He is the right man in the right place. If workmen should find occasion, inside the next two years, to show their contempt for the "Republican" of the Springfield rifle and the rapid fire gun. From now on the Kansas proletariat will be a socialist.

I am glad to note THE PEOPLE's relentless war on the fakirs; you may find others yet, than those so far gone, to be driven from cover. E. C. COCHRAN.

Wichita, Kan., Dec. 5.

The Standard of the California Vote.

TO THE PEOPLE.—The Secretary of the Standard of the California Vote will probably be ready end of this week. So far as heard from 23 counties give us an average State vote of 6,700. This leaves 34 counties yet to hear from. The average vote of the counties yet to hear from will determine our official standing. To do this about 7,400 votes will be necessary, which will surely make this a magnificent showing.

Showing coming that John D. Jones, G. Maguire ran for Governor on the Democratic ticket, a well known single taxer and "friend of the workman"—a sort of John G. Altgeld of the State "issue" was, "down with the railroad."

EDIEL HECHT.

San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 10.

That "Socialist" Mayor.

TO THE PEOPLE.—Mr. J. Chase, Debates Mayor-elect of Haverhill, spoke in Winchester, Mass., on Dec. 12. His speech convinced the undersigned that it is always well to know what a man is talking about before attempting to expound any theory.

At the close of an address which filled with economic errors, tactical blunders, and a few good words, Mr. Chase seated himself at the rear of the stage, and one White, who ran on the Debates State ticket, appeared. Mr. White, in a few words, made a table with both ends, and thus supported, stammered out that the speaker had spoken. As no one disputed this, Mr. White gave the courage to Mr. Chase.

The speaker was Mr. Chase. He said to the working class he impelled me to arise and announce that it wasn't. He remarked seemed to disturb Mr. White. He remarked seemed to disturb Mr. White. He remarked seemed to disturb Mr. White.

I informed Mr. White that the audience was invited to ask questions, and inquired if the speaker would answer them. Mr. White with some ill-humored difficulty observed that it was "characteristic of the S. L. P. to wish to understand what a speaker meant by his words, and that, even when the speaker was willing, he could answer questions. Then he said nothing for some minutes; neither did Mr. Chase. I was then forced to inquire if he supposed that the great and glorious opportunity that had been given him. Finally he came forward.

I asked him about the Haverhill treachery, and even there in his own meeting he was forced to dodge in such an evasive way that the audience, new to all this work, saw at once that he could not defend himself. Comrade Mallory then arose and asked if it was true that Chase would appoint regardless of party affiliations. Before he could remember whether he would or not, Mr. White, in a "gentlemanly" way became doubly abusive, making it evident that he stood in most abject fear of Comrade Mallory, and he finally refused to allow any more questions, nor permit the speaker to answer the one asked.

At this juncture, the most farcical incident of the evening occurred. A young man jumped to his feet and informed the chair that he was not a Socialist and would like to ask two questions. White, seeing that Chase was safe, gladly consented. The young man asked what would become of every speaker that ever talked on the subject of Socialism, who was not a Socialist? White wasn't a member of the S. L. P. who was after him now, but he acted as though it was, and started to dodge. A person who is informed, was Margaret Hall, who asked him to answer, and to stand on the order of his answering but to answer at once.

Mr. Chase finding himself cornered, attempted to retreat, but finally he managed to state that a public platform was no place for an explanation of Socialism, but that some time in the near future he would tell the young man what he could learn from all the books ever written. Comrade Macdonald, seeing that questions were being answered, arose and proposed that the question of words the speaker had uttered on majority rule. Though given the floor Comrade Macdonald was not allowed to finish. Chase ran about the stage like a cat in a rage at the chair.

The D. P. would receive no more attention from us were it not for the fact that it claims to be Socialist. Its leaders

are most profoundly ignorant of the simplest economic facts, and how, and when Socialism is attacked, but when their ignorance is exposed.

W. J. CORCORAN, Jr.

Stoneham, Mass., Dec. 13.

The Vote and the Work in Los Angeles, Cal.

TO THE PEOPLE.—The official count of the vote at the last election in Los Angeles, for Governor, 47,000 for Harriman runs behind the ticket. The cause of this is that there was a fierce fight gotten up in this State whether the Harriman ticket should run the affairs of the State or not. And it was pounded down to the people on every street corner to vote for Maguire, the Demo-Pop-Silver-Rep-United Labor ticket. The Harriman ticket was better known and the poor middle-of-the-road Populists being actually without a home are dropping into our party already.

Section Los Angeles has had over 20 new members since the election—sign of the times. We have gained enormously in the county districts, and we are about to organize Sections in every county and every railroad. The Harriman ticket was better known and the poor middle-of-the-road Populists being actually without a home are dropping into our party already.

At present we in Los Angeles are very busy. The County election will be held Dec. 5. Candidates are up for every office, except 3 for Members of Schoolboard. Over 20,000 of our city platforms have been distributed all over the city, meetings are held in hall after hall, and a grand rally on Dec. 4, in Music Hall, holding about 1,200 people. The new city charter will be debated between Judge Vail (one of the best of the city) FOR and Job Harriman AGAINST the same.

Our propaganda meetings are held regularly every Sunday evening before a full house. The meetings are held in the city hall and dance once every month. The organization of a brass band and quartet is well under way and some other schemes are being put a-bolting in the "City of the Angels."

LOUIS RENTLEMAN.

Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 1.

Election Frauds in Pa.

TO THE PEOPLE.—Post election developments show a degree of apathy on the part of election officers here that is simply astounding. Not satisfied with counting out Socialist votes, the election officers are now making returns indicating no Socialist Labor votes in divisions where as high as 16 votes were cast and counted in presence of Socialist voters.

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If they can see any chance of success, it is almost surprising that we should gain any vote when our speakers come before the people and discourage them by saying we have no chance of electing our candidates. There are thousands of workingmen, as I will prove now, that are willing to vote the ticket if they see any chance of success. To prove this, I will cite the first time Comrade Jones was the candidate in what was previously the 5th and now the 12th Assembly District. There the voters had the chance of electing a Socialist. Jones received a larger vote than the head of the ticket; the following year, in 1896, he received a still larger vote.

When Comrade DeLeon ran in the 9th Congressional District he also received a larger vote than the head of the ticket on account of the vigorous agitation there. The same results in the 16th Assembly District. And if we will look over the whole legislative ticket anywhere, we will find that these candidates receive a larger vote than the head of the ticket invariably, and it is surprising to me that the agitators and our speakers should not use an argument that there is no possibility of election. By proper agitation in this direction next year we can elect a Socialist majority in Congressmen and Assemblymen in 1900.

Let us not ignore these facts and shape our agitation accordingly.

MAX ECKSTEIN.

New York, Dec. 5.

III.

TO THE PEOPLE.—I don't know why, but very often the simplicity of language is a

PITTSBURGH, PA.

(Continued from page 1.)

and a little house upon it, is taxed to the utmost limit.

9. We denounce the contract system on public work as an unmitigated fraud; purely as system of capitalist exploitation in the interests of middlemen and labor-sweaters as exemplified by Bill, the Duke of Trinidad; a system that produces worthless shill-plaster pavements at monopolistic prices. These well known facts fully justify the demand of the Socialist Labor party, that public work shall be performed by the direct system of municipal employment. We desire to remind the public at large that it is through the contract system that some of our city "Bosses" have become rich and arrogant and that this system is undoubtedly one of the most prolific sources of political corruption that poisons our body politic.

10. We denounce the conspiracy entered into by the Secretary of War that resulted in the stealing of a part of the Duquesne wharf. With one member of a family on one side of city, another owning a garbage nuisance on the other side and the Duke of Trinidad having an option on everything in between, the public may well ask: WHERE DO WE COME IN?

11. We demand an annual auditing of the city accounts, together with a full public report of the same previous to the annual city elections.

12. We desire to remind the people of Pittsburgh that the expenditures of the city in 1890 were less than \$4,000,000; in 1895 expenditures were \$5,346,400, and in 1896—\$5,647,463. During that time bonds were issued and the proceeds spent, to the amount of \$8,250,000. Total expenditures in two years \$16,643,863. The appropriations asked for this year were: Charities, \$155,242; Department Public Safety, \$1,128,869.96; Department Public Works, \$2,223,641.24; Education, \$773,650; making a total of \$4,281,403.20; to be added to the Sinking Funds, \$528,000; Interest and State tax, \$800,000; salary of City Officers, \$100,000; judgments, \$500,000; Assessor's Office, \$20,000; Contingent Fund, \$30,000; Finance Fund, \$20,000; Printing, \$25,000; Advertising Delinquent Tax, \$10,000. Elections, \$2,000; a total expense of \$6,318,603.20. In Controller Gourley's report, issued last February, the expenses for this year are put at \$6,558,271, still leaving a deficit of \$1,500,000. This is capitalist government in Pittsburgh. In the face of these facts, objections to Socialism must be far-fetched.

13. We desire it to be distinctly understood that the Socialist Labor party is not a "Reform party." We recognize the fact, that under the present capitalist system, all governments whether city, State, or national, have become the private property of the Capitalist Class, and are therefore hopelessly corrupt. We are not so superficial and visionary as to expect to "Reform the unreformable." We know that these forms of government have long since passed all possibilities of "Reform." We are a "Revolutionary party," uncompromisingly opposed to abuses and misgovernment in any form. These abuses in society spring from our economic system and are fortified behind special legislation passed by the two capitalist parties, and we desire to remind you that in municipal misgovernment, Republican Pittsburgh is only equalled by Democratic New York and Chicago. This unspeakable municipal corruption is just what Republicans and Democrats have made it. Therefore, when we see Democrats assuming airs of moral or intellectual superiority over Republicans, or vice versa, it only excites our laughter, and when we hear of "Reform" it reminds us of the climax of burlesque. The reformer is perpetually tinkering with effects, leaving the system a cause untouched. "Reform" only means a patching up of old and worn out institutions and therefore a further prolongation of the present miserable conditions. Away with such ignorant and short-sighted policy. Let us destroy this system of capitalist exploitation fortified by capitalist governments and rear in its place a government of the people, for the people and by the people—the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth. We hold that the true theory of government is that the machinery of government should be owned and operated by the people collectively and that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production and distribution of commodities, or in other words, capital, should be owned by the whole people collectively, so that the worker shall receive the full value of his or her labor; and not as now by a small class of individual capitalists who perform no useful service as such, but receive rents, interest and profits; and operated by a class of laborers who receive as wages a constantly decreasing portion of this product, as is shown by the U. S. Census Reports. With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor, the Socialist Labor party presents the following declarations and demands for the municipal campaign of 1899 in Pittsburgh and Allegheny and pledges its candidates, if elected, to do their utmost for their adoption.

PLATFORM.

1. We declare our unflinching allegiance to the principles as set forth in the National Platform of the party.

2. Abolition of contract labor; all city work to be given directly by the municipality without the intervention of contractor or middlemen and that steps be immediately taken to secure the municipal ownership of railroads, electric light and power plants, gas works and all social services and industries, requiring municipal administration; the employees to elect their own superior officers, and no employee to be discharged for political reasons.

3. All public franchises now in force to be revoked and that all such services be operated by the municipality.

4. All property, without any exceptions to be classed and assessed alike for taxable purposes.

5. We demand the full and absolute equality of the sexes. Equal pay for equal services rendered. Prohibition of female labor under conditions detrimental to health or morality.

6. We demand a law to be strictly enforced prohibiting the employment of children of school age. Education of children under fifteen years of age to

be compulsory. The benefits of the public school system to be made accessible to all by supplying, where necessary, free clothing and meals to pupils.

7. The establishment of a public employment bureau which shall be conducted at the expense of the city.

8. Employment of the unemployed by public authorities; and that no person shall be detained or punished for vagrancy until said person, being physically able, shall have refused an offer by the authorities of a chance to earn a living at wages not less than the average wages of unskilled labor.

9. The establishment of a city medical department, so that competent medical attendance may be had at minimum cost, or free, when necessary.

10. The establishment and maintenance of depots for storing and selling to the people fuel in small quantities at cost.

11. The city to furnish in convenient localities as many commodious bath houses as may be needed; the use of the same to be free to the public.

12. The establishment of workingmen's homes, whereby working people, under certain conditions, may secure the best of home comforts and healthy surroundings at minimum cost.

13. That steps be taken to abolish the veto power of the Mayor and to substitute for minority representation proportional representation with initiative and referendum and imperative mandate.

14. The free use of halls and public buildings for the free public discussion without discrimination.

15. Liberty of individual speech and action as citizens without interference of employers.

These resolutions and platform were adopted with cheers from the assembled Socialists, and then the convention proceeded to the nomination of candidates for the municipal elections in Pittsburgh. Chairman John R. Root was first placed in nomination for Mayor. He declined to take the nomination, on the ground that he had been in the field too often already, and it would be better for some of the younger members to push to the front. Valentine Remmel, secretary of the Pittsburgh Section of the party, was prevailed upon to stand for Mayor; as he is a representative of the United Labor League, and also of the A. F. G. W. U. Charles E. Rupp was then nominated for City Controller, without any trouble, and William Cowan accepted the nomination for City Treasurer. Comrade Cowan is a member of the Window Glass Workers' Association.

For Mayor of Allegheny, William Eberle was unanimously chosen, the comrades absolutely refusing to allow him to decline the honor. He tried his best to push the nomination aside, but the convention would not have it.

A Committee on Nomination Papers was then appointed, consisting of John Zellhorn, Henry Peters, James Simpson and James Dickens. This Committee will have charge of getting the nomination papers signed and getting the names of the candidates on the ballot.

No nominations were made for Ward officers, it being adjudged best to leave that matter to the Ward Committees. The convention then adjourned.

The Section of Pittsburgh holds weekly public meetings at its headquarters every Sunday afternoon, at 3 p. m. Comrade Hickey, who recently rolled Pat Dolan, will soon again be in the city on his way to the West.

LOS ANGELES.

(Continued from page 3.)

the legal profession in Southern California.

The result of the election gives Geo. Martin, candidate for Mayor, 420 votes, the balance of the ticket averaging 575. Osgood and Van Rensselaer, the one candidate for the City Council, and the other for School Director, received 180 and 230 votes respectively. This was in the 4th and 5th Wards, the most fashionable in the city. The proposed new charter, plutocratic and anti-Socialist, was defeated by a good majority.

Keep your eye on Section Los Angeles.

JAMES T. VAN RENSSELAER.

Social Question.

(Continued from page 1.)

all control over the fruits of their toil. The economic power thus conferred upon the capitalist class by the capitalist system of property, together with the struggle that competition among its own members brings on, enables and compels it to take advantage of the dependence upon it of the masses of the people. The share of these in the wealth they produce becomes ever smaller, and the abundance that is producible remains unproducable, because production is carried on by capitalism exclusively for the private profit of the small class of capitalists, and is discontinued or slackened up as soon as private profit for that small class fails to be in sight.

Thus the capacity of the modern system of co-operative production, to carry man into civilized society is paralyzed by this private ownership of the machinery of production. The race stands before the very gates of Civilization, but is debarred entrance by the capitalist system of property, and is held at a standstill.

No. 4. IN WHAT CONSISTS THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF PROPERTY AND MODERN PRODUCTIVE FORCES, WHAT INCREASES THE CONTRADICTION?

The reason why the capitalist system of property does thus block the path towards Civilization lies in the contradiction that there is between it and the modern forces of production, i. e., the tool; and the contradiction consists in the continuance of an individual system of property in the tool despite the fact that the individual system of production has ceased to exist. So long as the individual system of production was possible, the individual system of property in the tool at least held out to man the prospect of some time enjoying the fruits of his labor, however slight these might be; now, however,

that the collective system of production alone is possible, the private or individual system of property of the tool cannot choose but to place it in the hands of a few, thus stripping the masses of all proprietary right in it, with the inevitable result of enslaving them in the prison of poverty with toil, while setting the small class of tool-owning private individuals free from all toil in luxurious idleness. The small tool that could be individually operated in the days of individual production could safely be, and was consistently enough, held in private or individual hands. On the contrary, however, the mammoth tool of the present co-operative or collective stage of production in our social development, a tool that cannot possibly be operated individually, but only collectively, cannot be consistently kept under individual ownership without social dislocation;—its logical system of ownership is collective ownership, as collective as it is operated.

Nor are the evils that spring from the social dislocation brought on by the contradiction between the present system of property, evils of a stationary character. If they were, society might accommodate itself by growing accustomed to them. These evils are of a growing nature. Highly developed though the modern tool is, it is yet capable of much higher perfection, and the competition among capitalists steadily stimulates its further development. Every step in that direction intensifies the collective nature of modern production, and, seeing the system of property remains individual, the contradiction between the two becomes sharper, sharpening thereby the evils it originally introduced, and rendering them more and more unbearable.

No. 5. WHAT IS MEANT BY PAINTFUL CONVULSIONS?

Among these evils, the most disastrous are the crises—those painful financial and commercial convulsions to which capitalist society is periodically doomed, and which, like the fits of epileptics, grow in frequency, in length and in vehemence. The individually owned tool of production in a collectively working society cannot but periodically throw upon the markets an amount of goods greatly in excess of the declining purchasing capacity of the masses, thus bringing on a stoppage of the wheels of industry and exchange, with its long train of suffering.

That this condition of things cannot last is generally admitted. There also is among the ranks of the discontented a closer agreement than would seem at first sight upon the root of the ills that afflict our people. The afflicted classes are the proletariat or working class, and the middle, or that class that has not yet been driven into the ranks of proletarianism, but feels the ground slipping under it. Both classes—the former knowingly, the latter instinctively—have, in so far as they have organized themselves, proceeded from the correct premises that the root of the evil lies in the contradiction that exists between the modern system of production and the system of property, and what is more, both have knowingly set their faces to the removal of the evil—breeding contradiction; only, each proposes a different method.

There are two ways of removing the contradiction that exists in the collective operation of privately owned tools.

1. Reduce production from its present co-operative back to its former individual stage, and thus make it tally with the individual system of property.
2. Transform the system of property from the individual into the collective and thus make it tally with the co-operative system of production.

The first was the method adopted by the Farmers' Alliance, which eventually developed into the People's party, and, in the late Presidential campaign, set up William J. Bryan as its standard bearer. This method is impossible of realization: Social development, no more than a river can be driven backward. But even if possible, its effect would simply be to drive the human race back from the portals of Civilization before which it now stands. Individual production must be carried on with paltry tools that are unable to yield that abundance without which popular well-being is impossible.

The second method is the method of the class-conscious proletariat, which, organized on the platform of the Socialist Labor party, polled this year over 80,000 votes in the nation. Its method is bound to prevail, because it is along the evolutionary line, along which the race has travelled in its development from the stage of Barbarism and its aspiration to that of Civilization. The transformation of the individual system of property into the collective, is the cutting of the navel string, which, useful in the past, can now only serve to strangle the birth of the new era that the past has ripened in its womb; it is the preserving for mankind of all the conquests of its collective genius, and the ushering in of the rule of Civilization.

In order to accommodate comrades who wish to subscribe to two or more of the party's organs, we have made arrangements for reduced rates as follows: THE PEOPLE (50c.) and the "Tocsin" (50c.) both for 80c. a year; THE PEOPLE and the "Class Struggle" ("New Charter") (50c.) both for 80c. a year; or all three (at regular rates \$1.50) for \$1.20 a year.

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OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandlow, 103 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee—Secretary George Moore, 61 Hyde street, Montreal.

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session held Dec. 13, with A. S. Brown in the chair. The financial report for the week ending Dec. 13 showed receipts, \$181.20; expenditures, \$120.66.

The Committee on the Detroit troubles reported and were instructed to present at the next meeting, in consonance with their recommendation.

A communication from the G. E. R. of S. T. & L. A. was laid over to be made the first order of business at next meeting. Section Danbury reported that the various Sections there have amalgamated into one and a charter was asked for. Granted. Sections Long Island City, N. Y., and Queens Village, N. Y., were asked for a copy of the new charter. The fee of 50c. accompanied the applications and they were granted. New Sections were organized at: Murphy, N. Y., and Neperan, N. Y., and charters granted.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secretary.

Session of Dec. 20, with J. H. Sauter in the chair. Absent: Kinnely and Stahl, the latter excused. The financial report for the week ending Dec. 13 showed receipts, \$101.78; expenditures, \$179.97.

The request of the G. E. R. of the S. T. & L. A. in regard to the press room of next meeting, was then taken up. It was resolved that, since the matter does not involve questions of principle, but is rather one of detail, it be referred to the G. E. R. for settlement.

Section Peoria, Ill., sent a warning against one Carl Presser, for publication in the "Vorwärts." Said Presser, a machinist by trade, after warning himself into the confidence of the comrades, was then exposed by the secretary of the Section, secured work, and when pay-day came, disappeared with an overcoat, several boxes of cigars and \$5 in money. The warning was only published in the "Vorwärts." The Irish Socialist Republican party sent a communication expressing thanks for the sending out of the subscription lists for "The Worker."

The Committee on the Detroit matter reported its findings as follows:

"Your Committee on the Detroit matter, after careful study of the report of the raid, and the evidence taken by the Detroit Police, find as follows: 1. That there was a wholesale remission of dues prescribed by Section Detroit in violation of the constitution of the party; 2. That the remission was authorized by the committee on dues only in individual cases and for cause; 3. That the charges of M. Meyer against the C. L. U. are correct and that Meyer is just in his position in the matter; 4. That all actions of Section Detroit, since the said remission, are void in so far as they were carried by the votes of members thus illegally restored to good standing; 5. That the expulsion of Fred. Whitehead, William J. Hoyle, Joseph Mahan, Samuel Goodfellow, Alfred Bonfield, William W. Baker, and Section Detroit, reported the suspension of Peter Friesema for one year, and of M. Meyer for two years. Peter Friesema sent a letter of complaint, stating that the charges against him were unfounded, and from the secretary the documents in the case, as provided in Sec. 9 of Art. 11 of the constitution and that, therefore, he is unable to defend himself. The committee on his appeal, he also states that the case was tried by a Grievance Committee that had been discharged by the Section and was afterwards reinstated, but sat upon the case in an interview with M. Meyer, the same complaint. The secretary was instructed to inquire of Section Detroit as to this alleged violation of the constitution.

Section Detroit, reported the expulsion of E. Neusch for embezzling party funds.

Charters were granted to new Sections in: Vallejo, Cal.; Sedgwick, Kan.; Cleveland, Ohio; Peabody and Wakefield, Mass.; and L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secretary.

Canada.

LONDON, Ont.—The following ticket will go to the polls:

Mayor—Fred. J. Darch. Water Commissioner—Henry B. Ashplant. Aldermen—Ward 1: J. B. Barter, 3rd Ward: David Ross; 4th Ward: James Farrar; 5th Ward: F. J. Appietor; 6th Ward: E. M. Westland. School Trustees—2nd Ward: Jessie E. Barter; 6th Ward: Marie Westland.

Michigan.

SAGINAW.—Saturday, Dec. 31, Section Saginaw, S. L. P., will give a Social Dance in C. L. Hall, on Jefferson street. The public is invited.

New York.

NEW YORK CITY.—First lecture of the Young Men's Socialist Educational Club will be held Sunday evening, Dec. 25, 1898, at the Club Rooms, 98 Avenue C; the lecturer will be Comrade Arthur Keep on the subject of "Poverty."

NEW YORK CITY.—At the last regular meeting of the Socialist Club of New York, held on Dec. 18, 1898, at 108 Club street, it was decided that all monies of treasury of said club be donated to the 9th Congressional District, S. L. P., and Club dissolved.

BUFFALO.—This Sunday, Dec. 25, the Section Buffalo, S. L. P., will hold a Christmas Festival at 8 p. m. at the Fillmore Theatre Hall, corner Fillmore avenue and Broadway. Tickets, 10 cents a person at the Labor Lyceum, 676 Genesee street; at all other places, 25 cents. Children free. Programme contains many comical and attractive features for the comrades as well as for their children.

Sunday, Jan. 1, at 8 p. m., the American Branch will hold at the Labor Lyceum a discussion meeting at which discussion will be held on the subject: "Will municipal ownership of so-called 'natural monopolies' be of any benefit for the proletariat?"

Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA.—The County Convention of Section Philadelphia, S. L. P., was held last Sunday afternoon in the Labor Lyceum. The following nominations for expiring executive committee were made: Chas. A. Hall; City Solicitor, Marcellus Walt; Magistrate, Herman Kreimer and Ernst Broenne. The various Branches were also instructed to make nominations for Councilmen in their respective Wards. Comrade Thos. Hickey was present and delivered a very inspiring address. Resolutions were received from a Committee of the 10th A. D. of New York in reference to establishing a DAILY PEOPLE and requesting Section Philadelphia to send 3 delegates to a conference which will be held on Wednesday evening, Dec. 28, 8 o'clock, in the Labor Lyceum, 6th and Brown streets, at which every member is earnestly urged to be present.

PHILADELPHIA.—At the Section meeting held on Sunday, Dec. 10, it was ordered that the sincere thanks of the Section be expressed to the PEOPLE for the many organizations and individuals who gave so liberally to the campaign fund of Section Philadelphia in the last election.

PHILADELPHIA.—Section Philadelphia, after thoroughly investigating the inquiries concerning Comrade Herman Kreimer and coming from a so-called party member of Camden, N. J., hereby states that the said Herman Kreimer is a loyal and in good standing and has never committed any act as inferred, that would bring discredit to the party.

PITTSBURGH.—A Grand Ball. The first annual Lithuanian S. L. P. Ball for the benefit of the campaign fund and for literature, will be held on Tuesday, Dec. 27, 1898, in Odd Fellows' Hall, 12th and Sarah streets, S. S. Commencing at 7 p. m. Admission 50 cents. Ladies free.

HICKEY'S TOUR IN PENNSYLVANIA.—Philadelphia, Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 17 and 18; Souderton, Monday, Dec. 19; Quakertown, Tuesday, Dec. 20; Reading, Wednesday, Dec. 21; Hamburg, Thursday, Dec. 22; Scranton, Friday, Dec. 23; Duryea, Saturday, Dec. 24; Maize, Monday, Dec. 26; Wilkesbarre, Tuesday, Dec. 27; Hazleton, Wednesday, Dec. 28; Shenandoah, Thursday, Dec. 29; Gilberton, Friday, Dec. 30; Shamokin, Saturday, Dec. 31.

ing, Wednesday, Dec. 21; Hamburg, Thursday, Dec. 22; Scranton, Friday, Dec. 23; Duryea, Saturday, Dec. 24; Maize, Monday, Dec. 26; Wilkesbarre, Tuesday, Dec. 27; Hazleton, Wednesday, Dec. 28; Shenandoah, Thursday, Dec. 29; Gilberton, Friday, Dec. 30; Shamokin, Saturday, Dec. 31.

Rhode Island.

PROVIDENCE.—A meeting for the purpose of completing the organization of the Karl Marx Class, which is to take up the study of "Capital" this winter, will take place in Textile Hall, Sunday afternoon, Dec. 27, at 3 o'clock. All comrades who are desirous of perfecting their knowledge of Socialism and who recognize that deep and serious study is essential to that perfection are earnestly solicited to join the class.

General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A.

The regular meeting of the G. E. R. was held on Thursday evening, Dec. 15, at the headquarters, 23 Duane street. Hoffman, chairman.

Charter granted to the Providence Progressive Committee, Union of Providence R. I. Communications: One from Pittsburgh, Pa., stating steps were being taken to organize a District Alliance. One from the District Council of Textile Workers of Providence, R. I., on a special organizer for the textile industry; referred to secretary for final arrangement. One from D. A. 12, Philadelphia, giving further information on A. A. 28, Palmyra and Papehangers; the General Secretary had answered, giving a basis upon which the matter could be settled; action of the Secretary endorsed; in the same communication, Secretary Keller stated that five Locals attached to D. A. 12 had contributed \$225 towards the campaign fund of the S. L. P.

Communications were also received from the following comrades: John Clark, Montreal, Canada; J. H. Gray, Scranton, Pa.; H. Wehner, Secretary D. A. S. Boston, Mass.; Julian Pierce, Washington, D. C.; M. Freedman, Trenton, N. J.; D. M. Alogy, East St. Louis, Ill.; also from Kansas City, Mo.; Albany, N. Y.; Olneyville, R. L. Washington, D. C.; Newark, N. J.; London, Ont.; and New York City, N. Y., requesting general information and sending dues, etc.

1. Shall the conventions of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance be held annually or bi-annually?—For annual, 26; for bi-annual, 10.
2. Shall the date of holding the conventions be determined, as now, by a general vote of L. A.'s or shall they be held on the same day in each year?—For third Monday in Sept., 32; against, 5.
3. Shall the conventions be constituted of delegates from the District Alliances, one delegate for every two hundred members in good standing in the D. A. according to the quarterly financial report of June 30?—For, 27; against, 9.
4. Shall the dues payable to the General Executive Board be one cent per month for each member of Local Assemblies in good standing?—For, 32; against, 5.
5. Shall there be levied a mileage assessment of one cent per quarter on each member, the same to be used to equalize the railroad expenses of delegates to conventions?—For, 31; against, 5.
6. Shall it be mandatory on the members of the S. T. & L. A. to contribute to the party press?—For, 6; against, 29.
7. Shall there be only one mixed alliance affiliated with a District Alliance, and said mixed alliance only be composed of trades not already organized into the S. T. & L. A.?—For, 9; against, 26.
8. Shall it be mandatory on all L. A. to furnish each member with a paper either of the S. T. & L. A. or the S. L. P., of his or her language?—For, 6; against, 29.
9. D. A. 4, Newark, N. J., requested the Counties of Essex, Hudson, Bergen, Union and Passaic to bring their jurisdiction, with headquarters in Newark, grant to the Secretary.

The Secretary was instructed to inquire of the Locals and Districts whether they favored establishing a special organizer from the Districts to contribute to the party press.

It was decided to issue no stamps for dues, the method of receiving be left to the District or Locals.

The Secretary was also instructed to forward the indebtedness of each Local and request a settlement by January 1, as the system of revenue changes to the per capita of one cent, per member a month.

WILLIAM L. BROWER, General Secretary.

To Socialist Lithographers.

The Socialist Lithographers of Greater New York City organized a Local Alliance of the S. T. & L. A. of the S. L. P., several months ago. It is steadily increasing in membership and actively engaged in disseminating the doctrines of new Trades Unions in the Metropolitan area, to the detriment of the old. It wishes to organize similar Alliances wherever possible, and, therefore, invites the earnest cooperation of every comrade employed at lithography, no matter what branch, or of what sex.

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Trades' and Societies' Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies not exceeding 10 lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their place in meetings.

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE, 23 Duane street, Room 56, New York City. General Secretary: William L. Brower. Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 3d and 5th Thursday evenings at 8 p. m. Secretary Board of Appeals: Max Keller, 30 Hope street, Philadelphia, Pa.

CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF NEW YORK. Meets at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 E. 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the Corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 E. 4th street, New York City.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County committee representing the Section meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., at the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

21st WARD, BRANCH 2, S. L. P. Brooklyn. Lectures on political, economic and social questions at the Club House, 10 Myrtle avenue, every Sunday evening. Meetings every 8 p. m. on 1st and 3rd Monday.

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS' UNION). Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p. m., 64 East 4th street, New York City. Labor Lyceum, Business Secretary: Peter Stahl.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL UNION NO. 99. Office: Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street, District 1 (Bhlemann), 331 East 1st street, District 2 (German), 10 1st street, District 3 (German), 10